

WONG DECLARATION

EXHIBIT A

TOM K. WONG, PH.D.

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APPOINTMENTS

2019 -	DIRECTOR, U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY CENTER (USIPC) University of California, San Diego
2018 - 2021	APPOINTED MEMBER (GUBERNATORIAL APPOINTMENT) STATE OF CALIFORNIA CENSUS COMPLETE COUNT COMMITTEE
2017 -	ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR (W/TENURE), POLITICAL SCIENCE University of California, San Diego
2016	ADVISOR, IMMIGRATION PORTFOLIO WHITE HOUSE INITIATIVE ON ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS
2016 -	SENIOR FELLOW CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS
2013 -	DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION STUDIES PROGRAM MINOR CO-DIRECTOR, HUMAN RIGHTS AND MIGRATION PROGRAM MINOR University of California, San Diego
2012 - 2017	ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, POLITICAL SCIENCE University of California, San Diego

EDUCATION

2011	PH.D. IN POLITICAL SCIENCE University of California, Riverside
2005	B.A. IN POLITICAL SCIENCE University of California, Riverside <i>Magna Cum Laude</i>

BOOKS

- (2) Tom K. Wong. 2017. *The Politics of Immigration: Partisanship, Changing Demographics, and American National Identity*. Oxford University Press.
[NPR](#), [ABC News/Yahoo.com](#), [LA Times](#), [Univision](#), [Monkey Cage](#)
- (1) Tom K. Wong. 2015. *Rights, Deportation, and Detention in the Age of Immigration Control*. Stanford University Press.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

- (11) Tom K. Wong and Karina Shklyan. 2024. "The Impact of Interior Immigration Enforcement on the Day-to-Day Behaviors of Undocumented Immigrants," *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, KS]
- (10) Tom K. Wong, Andrea Silva, and Karina Shklyan. 2022. "The Effect of Intergovernmental Policy Conflict on Immigrants' Behavior: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in California," *Publius* vol. 52 no. 1: 107-132. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, AS, KS]
- (9) Tom K. Wong, S. Deborah Kang, Carolina Valdivia, Josefina Espino, Michelle Gonzalez, and Elia Peralta. 2021. "How Interior Immigration Enforcement Affects Trust in Law Enforcement," *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 19 no. 2: 357-370. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, SDK, CV, JE, MG, EP]
- (8) Justin Gest, Ian M. Keysil, and Tom K. Wong. 2019. "Protecting and Benchmarking Migrants' Rights: An Analysis of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration," *International Migration* <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12635> [Equal contributions from all authors]
- (7) Tom K. Wong, Angela Garcia, and Carolina Valdivia. 2018. "The Political Incorporation of Undocumented Youth," *Social Problems* vol. 66 no. 3: 356-372. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, AG, CV]
- (6) Tom K. Wong and Hillary Kosnac. 2017. "Does the Legalization of Undocumented Immigrants in the US Encourage Unauthorized Immigration from Mexico? An Empirical Analysis of the Moral Hazard of Legalization," *International Migration* vol. 55 no. 2: 159-173. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, HK]
- (5) Tom K. Wong and Angela Garcia. 2016. "Does Where I Live Affect Whether I Apply? The Contextual Determinants of Applying for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)," *International Migration Review* vol. 50 no. 3: 699-727. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, AG] [C-Span](#), [Associated Press](#)
- (4) Tom K. Wong, Donald Kerwin, Jeanne M. Atkinson, and Mary Meg McCarthy. 2014. "Paths to Lawful Immigration Status: Results and Implications from the PERSON Survey," *Journal of Migration and Human Security* vol. 2 no 4: 287-304. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, DW, JMA, MMM] [NBC News.com](#)
- (3) Tom K. Wong. 2014. "The Politics of Interior Immigration Enforcement," *California Journal of Politics and Policy* vol. 6 no 3: 381-399.
- (2) Tom K. Wong and Justin Gest. 2013. "Organizing Disorder: Indexing Migrants' Rights and International Migration Policy," *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal* vol. 28 no 1: 257-269. [Equal contributions from all authors]
- (1) Tom K. Wong. 2012. "The Politics of Interior Immigration Control in the United States: Explaining Local Cooperation with Federal Immigration Authorities," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* vol. 38 no. 5: 737-756.

POLICY REPORTS

- (23) Tom K. Wong. 2024. *Expanded Legal Pathways to Enter the U.S. Reduce Irregular Migration*. Washington D.C.: Center for American Progress.
- (22) Tom K. Wong. 2023. *Lives in Danger: Seeking Asylum Against the Backdrop of Increased Border Enforcement*. La Jolla, CA: U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego.
- (21) Tom K. Wong, Maya Lu, and Lily Amirjavadi. 2022. *New American Voters 2022: Harnessing the Power of Naturalized Citizens*. Chicago, IL and La Jolla, CA: National Partnership for New Americans (NPNA) and U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW, ML, LA; Literature Review: TKW]
- (20) Tom K. Wong, et al. 2022. *Survey of DACA Recipients Underscores the Importance of a Pathway to Citizenship*. Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, et al.]
- (19) Tom K. Wong, et al. 2020. *Do TPS Designations Increase Irregular Migration to the United States?* Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress.
- (18) Tom K. Wong, et al. 2020. *Nepali TPS Holders Make Significant Contributions to America*. Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, et al.]
- (17) Tom K. Wong et al. 2020. *Amid Changes to the DACA Program and COVID-19, DACA Recipients are Fired Up and Civically Engaged*. Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, et al.]
- (16) Tom K. Wong. 2020. *COVID-19 and the Remaking of U.S. Immigration Policy? Empirically Evaluating the Myth of Immigration and Disease*. La Jolla, CA: U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego
- (15) Tom K. Wong et al. 2019. *DACA Recipients' Livelihoods, Families, and Sense of Security Are at Stake This November*. Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, et al.]
- (14) Tom K. Wong and Vanessa Ceceña. 2019. *Seeking Asylum: Part 2*. La Jolla, CA: U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW]
- (13) Tom K. Wong, Sebastian Bonilla, and Anna Coleman. 2019. *Seeking Asylum: Part 1*. La Jolla, CA: U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW]
- (12) Tom K. Wong, Jeremiah Cha, and Erika Villareal-Garcia. 2019. *The Impact of Changes to the Public Charge Rule on Undocumented Immigrants Living in the U.S.* La Jolla, CA: U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, JC]
- (11) Tom K. Wong, et al. 2019. *Deterrence, Displacement, and Death: The Impact of the Border Wall on Undocumented Immigration*. La Jolla, CA: U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, et al.]
- (10) Tom K. Wong, et al. 2019. *Fractured Federalism: How Dissonant Immigration Enforcement Policies Affect Undocumented Immigrants*. La Jolla, CA: U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, et al.]

- (9) Tom K. Wong, et al. 2019. *How Interior Immigration Enforcement Affects Trust in Law Enforcement* La Jolla, CA: U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, et al.]
- (8) Tom K. Wong. 2018. *Do Family Separation and Detention Deter Immigration?* Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress.
- (7) Tom K. Wong et al. 2018. *Amid Legal and Political Uncertainty DACA Remains More Important Than Ever.* Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, et al.]
- (6) Tom K. Wong et al. 2017. *DACA Recipients' Economic and Educational Gains Continue to Grow.* Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, et al.]
- (5) Tom K. Wong. 2017. *The Effects of Sanctuary Policies on Crime and the Economy.* Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress.
- (4) Tom K. Wong et al. 2016. *New Study of DACA Beneficiaries Shows Positive Economic and Educational Outcomes.* Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, et al.]
- (3) Tom K. Wong et al. 2015. *Results from a Nationwide Survey of DACA Recipients Illustrate the Program's Impact.* Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress. [Research Design: TKW; Analysis: TKW; Literature Review: TKW, et al.]
- (2) Tom K. Wong. 2014. *Statistical Analysis Shows that Violence, Not Deferred Action, Is Behind the Surge of Unaccompanied Children Crossing the Border.* Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress.
- (1) Tom K. Wong. 2013. *Undocumented No More: A Nationwide Analysis of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA).* Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress.

BOOK CHAPTERS

- (5) James Hollifield and Tom K. Wong. 2022. "The Politics of International Migration." In *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* (4th edition), edited by Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield. Routledge.
- (4) Tom K. Wong. 2014. "Conceptual Challenges and Contemporary Trends in Immigration Control." In *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective* (3rd edition), edited by James F. Hollifield, Philip Martin, and Pia Orrenius. Stanford University Press.
- (3) Tom K. Wong. 2014. "Nation of Immigrants or Deportation Nation? Analyzing Deportations and Returns in the United States, 1892-2010." In *The Nation and Its Peoples: Citizens, Denizens, and Migrants*, edited by John S.W. Park and Shannon Gleeson. Routledge.
- (2) James F. Hollifield and Tom K. Wong. 2014. "The Politics of International Migration: How Can We 'Bring the State Back In'?" In *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* (3rd edition), edited by Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield. Routledge.
- (1) Karthick Ramakrishnan and Tom K. Wong. 2010. "Partisanship, Not Spanish: Explaining Municipal Ordinances Affecting Undocumented Immigrants." In *Taking Local Control: Immigration Policy Activism in U.S. Cities and States*, edited by Monica W. Varsanyi. Stanford University Press.

WORKS UNDER REVIEW/IN PROGRESS (SELECTED LIST)

(Book Project) DACA: Undocumented Youth and the Politics of Immigrant Illegality

This project leverages nearly a decade of surveying DACA recipients about their economic, societal, and civic integration. These surveys span the Obama, Trump, and Biden administrations, and include both the periods before and after the rescission of DACA. [NPR](#), [CNN](#), [Washington Post](#), [New York Times](#), [NBC News](#), [CNBC](#), [Atlantic](#), [Vox](#), [Forbes](#), [538](#), [Politifact](#), [WNYC](#), [C-Span](#), [Associated Press](#)

(Book Project) The Impact of Immigration Enforcement on Undocumented Immigrants.

This project draws from a first-of-its-kind probability-based survey of undocumented immigrants. This project includes several survey experiments that uncover how the day-to-day behaviors of undocumented immigrants, as well as the trust that they have in public institutions, is affected by differential levels of local law enforcement cooperation with federal immigration enforcement officials. [Washington Post](#), [NPR](#), [KPBS](#), [USA Today](#), [City Lab](#), [Chicago Tribune](#), [Factcheck.org](#)

(Book Project) Tom K. Wong. “Immigration, White Nationalism, and the Great Replacement Theory: Who Believes, Why do They Believe, and What Can be Done.”

The Great Replacement Theory is a conspiracy theory subscribed to by White nationalists that states that immigration is being used to replace the native-born White population in the U.S. with people of color (i.e., “White genocide”). Previously relegated to the fringes of American society, the Great Replacement Theory has emerged as a serious threat to pluralistic values, as recent mass shootings wherein shooters have left manifestos espousing the Great Replacement Theory have made clear. News media and other polling suggest that as many as one-third of Republicans (Washington Post) or one-half of native-born White Americans (SPLC) believe in some variant of the Great Replacement Theory. This book project examines the determinants of belief in the Great Replacement Theory, explores why individuals believe that immigration is being weaponized to replace native-born Whites, the extent to which those who believe are willing to resort to political violence, and what can be done to stop this.

RESEARCH GRANTS (AS FACULTY MEMBER)

- \$800,000, Coulter Foundation, “U.S. Immigration Policy Center,” 2021-2024
- \$150,000, Private Donor, “U.S. Immigration Policy Center,” 2021-2023
- \$820,000, Multiple Funders, “U.S. Immigration Policy Center,” 2019-2021
- \$341,127, Multiple Funders, “U.S. Immigration Policy in the 21st Century,” 2017-2019
- \$22,500, UCSD USMEX Fellowship, 2016-2017
- \$16,000, UCLA Institute for Research on Labor and Employment, 2015-2016
- \$365,000, MacArthur Foundation, 2015-2017 (partially awarded, terminated after the DAPA program was enjoined by the U.S. Supreme Court)
- \$25,000, UCSD Frontiers of Innovation Scholars Program Grant, 2015-2016
- \$15,000, UCSD Faculty Career Development Program Grant, 2014-2015
- \$30,000, Unbound Philanthropy, 2014
- \$100,000, U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DACA), 2013
- \$30,000, Center for American Progress, 2013
- \$10,000, UCSD Center for International, Comparative, and Area Studies Grant, 2013
- \$10,000, UCSD Academic Senate, 2013
- \$1,500, UCSD Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Grant, 2013

TEACHING AT UCSD

- Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Teaching Award, 2014-2015
- The Politics of Immigration (upper-division, 280 students)
- International Human Rights Law: Rights of Migrants (upper-division, 200 students)
- The Politics of Multiculturalism (upper-division, 100 students)
- Immigration Politics and Policy (graduate seminar, 4 students)
- Undergraduate Honors Seminar (upper-division, 15 students)

INVITED PRESENTATIONS — (LAST UPDATED 6/2018)

- 2018 |** “Surveying Undocumented Immigrants.” UC Berkeley, June 12, 2018.
- “The Integration of DACA Recipients.” Scripps College, May 3, 2018.
- “The Impact of the Trump Administration’s Immigration Policies on Undocumented Immigrants: Evidence from Survey Experiments.” Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Workshop, Northwestern University, April 13, 2018.
- “Immigrant Political Incorporation.” UC Migration Conference, UCSD, March 2, 2018.
- “The Future of DACA.” Columbia University, February 22, 2018.
- “Immigration and DACA in the Age of Uncertainty, Middlebury College, February 20, 2018.
- 2017 |** “The Future of U.S. Immigration Policy in the Age of Trump.” Citizenship and Equality Colloquium, University of Colorado, November 16, 2017.
- “The Determinants and Effects of Sanctuary Policies.” Cornell University, November 9-10, 2017.
- “The Determinants and Effects of Sanctuary Policies.” Presentation at the 2017 APPAM Fall Research Conference, Chicago, IL, November 2-4, 2017.
- “Immigration and the U.S. Constitution.” Seminar at the Robert H. Smith Center for the Constitution at James Madison’s Montpelier, Orange, VA, July 31-August 2, 2017.
- “The Determinants of U.S. Immigration Policy.” University of California, Santa Barbara, June 1, 2017.
- “Paths to Legal Status for Undocumented Immigrants.” Presentation at the CLINIC annual conference, Atlanta, GA, May 25, 2017.
- “The Effects of Sanctuary Policies on Crime and the Economy.” Presentation at the Sanctuary Cities Convening, New York City Council, New York, NY, March 27-28, 2017.
- “The Future of U.S. Immigration Policy in the Age of Trump.” Yankelovich Center for Social Science Research, University of California, San Diego, March 15, 2017.
- “Child Migration.” World Migration Report workshop, International Organization for Migration (IOM) Geneva, Switzerland, March 9-10, 2017.

“The Politics of Immigration.” American Academy of Arts and Sciences, San Diego Program Committee, University of California, San Diego, February 9, 2017.

2016 |

“Post-Election Panel.” Center for Comparative Immigration Studies (CCIS), University of California, San Diego, November 21, 2016.

“Mobilizing Immigrant Communities in the Age of Trump.” Tulane University, October 14, 2016.

“Immigrant Integration and the Obama Administration: DACA, DAPA, and Implications for the 2016 Presidential Election.” Institute for Research on Labor and Employment, UCLA, April 28, 2016.

“Mobilizing Low-Propensity Voters of Color: Towards an Electorate That Reflects a Changing America.” Presentation at the Asian Americans Advancing Justice conference, Los Angeles, CA, March 31, 2016.

“Immigrants in American Society.” Presentation at KPBS, San Diego, CA, March 21, 2016.

“Immigration Policy.” Presentation to Mi Familia Vota, Riverside, CA, January 14, 2016.

2015 |

“The European Refugee Crisis.” Center for Comparative Immigration Studies (CCIS), the European Studies Program, the Lifelong Learning Program of the EU, and the Scholars Strategy Network (SSN), University of California, San Diego, October 27, 2015.

“U.S. Immigration Politics and the 2016 Presidential Election.” Presentation at the Wilson Center, Washington DC, October 26, 2015.

“The Political Incorporation of Undocumented Youth.” Presentation at the “Challenging Borders” conference, University of California, Riverside, October 23, 2015.

“The Consequences of Inequality: Why Does it Matter and How.” Symposium on Capital in the 21st Century with Thomas Piketty, University of California, San Diego, October 22, 2015.

“U.S. Immigration Politics and Policy.” Presentation at the U.S. Consulate in Tijuana, October 13, 2015.

“UC National Summit on Undocumented Students.” University of California Office of the President, May 7-8, 2015.

“Irregular Migration.” Presentation at the “Politics and Policies of International Migration: Europe and the U.S.” conference, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium, April 28-29, 2015.

“Opportunities and Limits of the Executive Actions Proposed by President Obama.” Presentation at the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mexico City, Mexico, April 13-14, 2015.

“Administrative Relief Implementation and Impact Project.” Presentation at the Center for Migration Studies (CMS), New York, NY, March 25, 2015.

“Research Roundtable.” Presentation at the “Ready America: Implementing Immigration Action” conference, Washington DC, February 9-11, 2015.

- 2014** | “Insights from Implementing DACA for Administrative Relief.” Presentation at the National Immigrant Integration Conference, Los Angeles, CA, December 16, 2014.
- “Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals.” American Immigration Council (AIC), Washington, D.C., November 7, 2014.
- “Immigration Policy and the November 2014 Midterm Elections.” California Immigrant Policy Center (CIPC), October 29, 2014.
- “The Many Paths to Legal Status: Results and Implications from the PERSON Survey.” Presentation to the Center for Migration Studies (CMS), New York, NY, September 29, 2014.
- “The Congressional Politics of Interior Immigration Enforcement.” Presentation at the “Migration During Economic Downturns” workshop, German Historical Institute, Washington, DC, April 4-5, 2014.
- “Mapping DACA Renewals.” Presentation to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), March 13, 2014.
- “Latino Politics: Left, Right, or Down the Middle?” Presentation at the Hispanic Radio annual conference, San Diego, CA, March 10, 2014.
- 2013** | “Undocumented No More: A Nationwide Analysis of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals.” Center for Comparative Immigration Studies (CCIS), University of California, San Diego, October 2, 2013.
- “DACA Turns 1.” Presentation at the Center for American Progress, Washington, DC, August 15, 2013. **[Televised on CSPAN]**
- “The Prospects for Comprehensive Immigration Reform.” Presentation at the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mexico City, Mexico, August 12, 2013.
- “A Look at the Stats: How Will Congressional Representatives Vote on Comprehensive Immigration Reform?” Presentation at the “Changing Face of America” conference, University of California, Berkeley, May 3, 2013.
- “Will Comprehensive Immigration Reform Pass? Predicting Legislative Support and Opposition to CIR.” Center for Comparative Immigration Studies (CCIS), University of California, San Diego, April 29, 2013.
- “Race, Ethnicity, the 2012 Elections, and the Politics of Comprehensive Immigration Reform.” Presentation at the *Beyond the Headlines* speaker series, UCLA, February 26, 2013.
- “International Migrants Bill of Rights (IMBR) Initiative.” Georgetown Law School, Washington, DC, February 8-9, 2013.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

- Reviewer: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Politics Research*, *American Sociological Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Citizenship Studies*, *Du Bois Review*, *International Migration*, *International Migration Review*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, *Law & Social Inquiry*, *Migration Studies*, *National*

Science Foundation, Oxford University Press, Perspectives on Politics, Politics, Groups, and Identities, Political Research Quarterly, Proceedings of the National Academies of Sciences, Russell Sage Foundation, Social Identities, Social Problems

- Advisory Board, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies (CCIS), 2012-2018
- Advisory Board, Integrated Voter Engagement study, 2016
- Advisory Board, Unbound Philanthropy, 2015-2017
- APSA, Executive Committee, Migration and Citizenship Section, Treasurer, 2012-2015
- APSA, Migration and Citizenship Section Program Co-Chair, 2018
- Editorial Board, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (JEMS), 2024-2028
- Editorial Board, *Journal of Migration and Human Security* (JMHS), 2014-present
- Editorial Board, *Politics, Groups, and Identities* (PGI), 2016-present
- Editorial Board, *Polity*, 2016-present
- Editorial Search Committee, *Perspectives on Politics* Editor-in-Chief search committee, 2022-2023
- Executive Committee, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies (CCIS), 2015-2018
- MPSA, International Relations and Domestic Politics Section Program Chair, 2016
- WPSA, (Im)Migration and Citizenship Section Program Chair, 2015, 2017
- WPSA, Dissertation award committee, 2016

PUBLIC SCHOLARSHIP

Wong is one of the country's top experts on immigration politics and policy. Wong and his work have been covered by *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post*, NPR and major media outlets across the country in hundreds of articles. A sample can be found here: <https://usipc.ucsd.edu/media/index.html>